

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 3 Monday, January 20, 1964 Price 10c

Years of Abuse by U.S. Kindled Panama Crisis

By George Lavan

JAN. 15 — Why is the flying of their flag so important to the people of Panama? The attempt to raise it alongside the U.S. flag at Balboa High School in the Canal Zone had — at last count — resulted in 27 Panamanians killed and more than 300 wounded. What can their flag signify to the people of Panama?

It symbolizes their national dignity which is very important to a people whose country has always been kicked around by the big powers and who have personally been treated with contempt by white-supremacist colonialists living in their midst.

By insisting the flag be raised in the Canal Zone, Panamanians are rejecting the idea that the 500-square-mile strip carved through the center of their country is no longer part of Panama; though that territory may have been leased "forever" to the U.S. under a coerced and corrupt treaty, they want it known that the territory is still part of Panama.

Want Own Flag

Finally, they want their flag flown on terms of strict equality with the U.S. flag. Why the insistence on equality? Because, after having been treated as second-class citizens in their own country for so long, Panamanians are determined to achieve equality — in wages, living conditions, status and respect — with the "Zonians," as the U.S. residents of the Canal Zone are called.

The feelings of the Panamanians about their flag were well known to U.S. authorities. In 1953 the greatest mass demonstrations the country had ever witnessed took place over demands for changes in the treaty leasing the Canal Zone to the U.S. In 1956, members of the Union of University Students began "Operation Sovereignty" in which students dashed into the zone and planted 59 flags before they were beaten up and ejected by Canal Zone police and U.S. troops. Again, in November 1959

similar flag demonstrations took place.

Finally, in January 1963, the U.S. government announced that out of respect for Panama's "titular sovereignty" it would allow its flag to be flown alongside the U.S. flag in the Canal Zone.

The Zonians, with true colonialist mentality, bitterly opposed any concession on the flag issue. They realized that yielding on the symbolic issue foreshadowed yielding on the physical front. Start giving the Panamanian flag equality, they said, and soon you will have to start treating the Panamanians equally. And the Zonians are against any kind of equality for Panamanians, large numbers of whom are of African ancestry.

Washington Lobby

The Zonians, moreover, have considerable political influence. They have a powerful lobby in Washington and exert great pressure on the appointed governor of the Zone.

The flag incident at Balboa High resembled in many ways the school desegregation struggle in the U.S. White high-school boys sparked the incidents but they had been egged on by the adults who were bitter about the U.S. government's "softness" towards the Panamanians. So the school kids were the catspaws for defiance of the State Department's decision and the governor's order.

To avoid having to fly a Panamanian flag in front of Balboa High, the governor had said no U.S. flag would be flown there in the future. With adult advice and encouragement, a group of Balboa High students raised the U.S. flag there Tuesday night, Jan. 7 and held an all night vigil around it. In the morning a U.S. flag, unaccompanied by a Panamanian flag was raised at Canal Zone College.

Gov. Fleming urged the students to respect the flag agreement, but after one weak attempt to enforce

(Continued on Page 6)

Court Victory Spurs Harlem Rent Strikers

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Jan. 14—Harlem's rent strike is spreading. It now involves 168 buildings in which some 15,000 persons live. That's just a beginning. There are at least a million New Yorkers who live in buildings that should have been torn down and replaced long ago. The rents paid in these buildings are drained off into slumlord profits and interest to banks, and the buildings have not been repaired or kept up decently — if at all — for decades.

The tenants on strike are sick and tired of crumbling walls, falling plaster, rats, filthy halls, leaky pipes, no heat, no hot water, cockroaches, incompetent or overloaded janitors, etc. Withholding rent is their legal right for these conditions are violations of the city's own health, safety and building codes.

The complete legality of the rent strike was recognized again in a just and reasonable ruling Jan. 18 by City Court Judge Fred G. Moritt. He refused to evict five Brooklyn tenants who stopped paying rent for dilapidated apartments. He ruled they didn't have to pay the back rent and that they could live rent free until the health and safety violations were repaired. Moritt said: "I am merely applying the ancient and elemen-

NEXT WEEK. Our next issue will feature the text of speeches delivered at the Harlem rent strike rally by novelist James Baldwin and SNCC Chairman John Lewis.

tary law that you don't owe for what you don't get."

The Moritt ruling was cited by Jesse Gray, leader of Harlem's Community Council on Housing, at a rent-strike rally Jan. 12. Gray told a crowd of 600, mostly women from the area, that rent strikers would no longer turn rent money over to the court. That procedure, Gray pointed out, had not worked because the money has not been used to make repairs.

From now on, said Gray, the rent money will be kept by the rent strikers and no rent will be due until the repairs are made. Gray also called for the removal of City Rent and Rehabilitation Commissioner Hortense Gable. Mrs. Gable had said that court rulings recognizing the legality of the rent strikes were "most unfortunate." Retorted Gray: "Hortense

(Continued on Page 2)



Student Committee for Miners photo/Caroline Mugar

DEMAND ACTION. Jobless Kentucky miners and student supporters picketed the White House after being refused their request for a meeting with President Johnson. They had come to convince Johnson that their demand for food, jobs and justice requires an immediate solution. Their picket line was bolstered by members of Washington CORE and SNCC. See report on Page 3.

Johnson's 'War on Poverty' Is a Vote-Catching Gimmick

By William Bundy

This is the year of the war against poverty. If you are one of the 36 million Americans the government considers to be poverty-stricken you are going to get a lot of attention this year. On the average you'll be just as poor at the end of the year as you are now, but the politicians are going to do an awful lot of talking about you — at least until the November elections.

That's the real message in President Lyndon B. Johnson's State of the Union address which he delivered to Congress Jan. 8.

In some ways, the message is good news despite the hypocrisy and demagoguery involved. For it is highly significant that this practiced and careful politician has judged that the temper of the country is ripe for a change in emphasis from the cold war to social welfare — if only in words.

Johnson, the canny politician, has detected the existence of a great groundswell of feeling for an easing of the cold war and for a fight against unemployment and poverty. Though this groundswell has had no real spokesmen in either of the major parties, Johnson is banking on it for the 1964 elections.

The extent of Johnson's demagoguery is indicated by the fact that

he unashamedly offers something for everyone, even when the things he promises are mutually exclusive. On the one hand he promises an unprecedented social-welfare program. At the same time he promises reduced spending to right-wing conservatives like Senator Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) who consider public toilets in federal buildings socialistic pampering of the masses.

In addition Johnson promises a tax cut to benefit those in the upper brackets. And he says he will accomplish all this while maintaining a \$50-billion war budget, the war in Vietnam, and pressure on Cuba. What's the secret?

Nobody seems to be sure — apparently including Johnson. But one thing is certain — the social-welfare part is mostly noise. The great bulk of Johnson's address was devoted to what has become known as the "poverty package." This is a series of proposals and programs, almost none of which are new and some of which are already bottled up in Congress with no chance of passage. These are strung together to make them look like a lot more than they are.

Johnson talks about declaring "unconditional war on poverty in America." Surely that kind of talk must be backed up by big money.

But no, when it gets down to cases, Johnson is recommending only \$500 million in spending authority for new social-welfare programs or additions to old ones. And that paltry sum is to be spread over several years! That is

(Continued on Page 3)

REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY

Gov't Can Postpone But Not Prevent Inevitable Crash

By Art Preis

JAN. 7 — In June 1962, when the stock market took a precipitous plunge and most major economic indicators pointed downward, I wrote in *The Militant* about the strong possibility of a recession. There had been four recessions since the end of World War II and each of the subsequent upturns had been of shorter duration. Only huge increases in government spending, primarily for military purposes, had halted each of the previous recessions. Since I have no faith in the long-range perspective of capitalism, and not much faith in its short-range future, I felt in 1962 that a new recession was in the cards.

My feelings were reinforced by the views of almost all economists, most of whom are blatant apologists for the private-profit monopoly system. They oozed gloom and pessimism. I thought that if these flunkies of capitalism were keenly such a dirge I wasn't going to

ring the welkin with "Happy Days are Here Again."

I'm not offering this as an excuse for my prophetic shortcomings but only as a reminder and warning: You can't trust the hired economic soothsayers whether they're forecasting a slump or a boom. It's best to stick to the economic data available, leave short-term prognostications to those who make a business of reading the economy's entrails for signs and portents and recognize that, whatever the immediate fluctuations of capitalism's fortune, the long-term outlook remains hopelessly against any historically prolonged expansion or survival of the profit system. But in 1962 and 1963, at least, the capitalist government had not yet exhausted its potential for propping up the system with ever-greater expenditures and mounting debt.

Having said this, however, I cannot resist offering some reflections and observations on the

year-end tabulations of 1963 economic data, on what they tell us about the real state of the U.S. economy and how they square with the rosy forecasts for 1964 made by government spokesmen, business executives and academic economists alike. I will try this time not to be swayed by their sentiments. Such agreement, if any, I may express will be strictly coincidental.

Duration of Upturns: Dr. Walter W. Heller, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, on Dec. 30, 1963, gave President Johnson a glowing economic report citing the current upturn, dating from the Feb. 1961 low point of the previous decline, as one of the economy's most providential signs. Dr. Heller stressed that this upturn has lasted all of 34 months and is the longest since the 1933-1937 advance from the bottom of the Great Depression.

The almost audible sighs of re-

lief from Washington and Wall Street, because the economy has managed to crawl ahead for all of two years and ten months (with one nerve-wracking pause in 1962), indicate how jittery they are and how fearful and uncertain of the future. Moreover, they can derive small comfort from a reminder that the 1933-1937 advance was the longest period of upturn since 1929. August 1937 marked the start of the Roosevelt Depression, when the economy fell back two-thirds of the way to the 1933 low point and the index of industrial production dropped nearly 25 per cent in just three months.

Gross National Products: This is the total output of goods and services. It is the chief yardstick now used by the government and most capitalist economists to measure the advance or decline of the economy. Corporation profits, dividends and stock-market price av-

(Continued on Page 5)

In This Issue

Indiana Student Case
D.A. Uses a 'Bug' P. 2

N.Y. School Bias
Groups Map Boycott P. 3

Labor Left Out
Profits Didn't 'Trickle' P. 4

Cuban Bus Deal
Blow to Embargo P. 6

Atlanta Jim Crow
Students Press Fight P. 8

"Big Brother" in Indiana**Prosecutor Uses Police-State Tactics**

By George Saunders

In the case of three Indiana University students indicted in Bloomington, Ind., under the state's 1951 sedition law, the prosecution has revealed blatant use of police-state spying methods. These revelations clearly substantiate the defendants' charges that the case is an attempt at thought-control and, as such, will be a key test for civil liberties.

Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley recently admitted to the press that he had used a high-powered listening device to eavesdrop on private conversations of the defendants in a private apartment rented from a local landlord. Hoadley also indicated he had consulted with the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee in connection with the Bloomington case.

These revelations follow scandalous efforts by the prosecutor and local newspapers to prejudice the public against the students by somehow — no matter how far-fetchedly — dragging Kennedy's assassination into the case.

Two Indictments

Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan, officers of the IU chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, were indicted May 1 for allegedly assembling on March 25 to advocate the violent overthrow of the Indiana and U.S. governments. On March 25 the campus-recognized YSA had sponsored a talk on civil rights by Leroy Mc-



James Bingham

Rae, a YSA national officer and a Negro.

The May 1 indictment was later thrown out on a technicality and the students re-indicted July 18, this time on two counts. The March 25 charge was reworded and a new charge was added — of similar "subversive assembly" on May 2, that is, the day after the first indictment.

On May 2 the defendants had

gathered in the basement apartment — rented by friends — of a house owned by landlord Harold Wilkes. They discussed what legal steps to take about their indictment. Later, there were indications that the landlord, working with the prosecutor, had taped the discussions at that meeting.

Prosecutor Hoadley, as quoted in the Nov. 29 Bloomington Daily Herald-Telephone, said he intended to "make public all the evidence obtained in the apartment rented from Harold Wilkes, including the tape-recorded voices of the defendants."

1984-Type Device

"The device we used," Hoadley told the Herald-Telephone, "was in Wilkes' basement and consisted of a powerful, highly-sensitive microphone attached to a tape recorder." It may be only 1964 in most of America but in Bloomington 1984 has arrived!

Defense Attorney Daniel T. Taylor III of Louisville, Ky., has filed a motion with the court to suppress evidence illegally obtained, thus challenging Hoadley's court use of his eavesdropping.

The Nov. 29 Herald-Telephone also revealed that landlord Wilkes was "subpoenaed by the House Investigation Committee on Un-American Activities [sic], was said to have related details of the YSA meetings to the investigators and is expected to play a big part in the arguments and the case against the YSA."

According to an earlier report in the Herald-Telephone, Prosecutor Hoadley also "was summoned to Washington recently to testify in a closed-door Congressional session about the YSA." The paper quotes Hoadley as saying that in the session "we talked about a lot of things, the YSA, the fact that the young communists in America are turning more to China than to Russia where their ideological beliefs are and the danger in the switch."

In addition Hoadley is reported as saying that "all the evidence he has obtained is now in the hands of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C."

What is shown by Hoadley's contacts with this House committee, so notorious for its smearing and witch-hunting? Simply that his primary purpose — in the spirit of HUAC — is to discredit, to persecute and punish socialist-minded students for, as Hoadley himself put it, "their ideological beliefs."

Received Threats

The lawyer for Mrs. Cecelia M. Rodriguez, who is suing, reported that his client has been followed by police and threatened by telephone. Attorney Irving Thau of the Workers Defense League said he had been forced to move Mrs. Rodriguez from hotel to hotel to avoid cops who were following her. In addition, he said, Mrs. Rodriguez' family in the Bronx had been threatened over the phone with death unless they revealed her hiding place.

Civil-rights and Puerto Rican leaders held a meeting Jan. 3 to discuss the case and they report that police questioned them and photographed them as they entered the hall. City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer, who appeared at the meeting after the incidents of police intimidation, said he was "shocked" by the action of the cops.

The meeting made plans to air the Rodriguez-Solero case and appointed a committee to set up a special civil-rights organization which will deal specifically with cases of police brutality. The committee includes Percy Sutton, head of the New York NAACP; Marshall England, of New York CORE; Gilbert Gerena-Valentin, head of the Congress of Puerto Rican Municipalities; and Oscar Suarez-Gonzales, leader of a group of seven lawyers who are gathering evidence on the Rodriguez-Solero case.



"Political bankruptcy" was a charge against Joseph Beirne, president of the Communication Workers of America (CWA), made by Roderick Downie Jr., president of Westchester, N.Y., Local 1103.

Downie was accused on Jan. 8 of dual unionism, suspended from his post as local president, and ordered to stand trial by the executive board of the CWA. The man selected to replace Downie, Henry Truelieb, was also reported suspended later on the same charges. According to Downie, the board's actions demonstrated that "whenever opposition develops to the CWA policy of 'sweetness' with the New York Telephone Company, Joe Beirne must resort to arbitrary suspension to preserve his tottering political empire."

Similar attacks on Beirne's rule of the CWA were made by members of New York City Local 1101 at a Dec. 31 mass meeting. By an overwhelming majority of more than 8,000 rank and filers, the meeting voted to disaffiliate from the CWA and join the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

Jay Lovestone was recently named director of the AFL-CIO International Affairs Department by George Meany. His appointment, however, is merely belated recognition of the fact that for a long time he has been the alleged "brain" for Meany's ultra-reactionary views on foreign policy.

Serving the AFL-CIO's top bureaucracy is suited to Lovestone's peculiar talents. He did similar service for the Kremlin bureaucracy and thus bears a major responsibility for the Stalinization of the American Communist Party. Chosen by Stalin to head the American CP, he had charge of the expulsion of the Trotskyists. Internal democracy in the CP having thus been destroyed, it was simple for Stalin to order his expulsion a year later.

Fired for kissing a plant nurse while on duty, Sam Kagel, a security officer, filed a grievance against Aerojet General Corp., in Sacramento, Calif. Machinists Local 812, which took the grievance to arbitration, conceded that the kiss violated company rules, but said the penalty was excessive.

Ultimately an arbitration board ruled in Kagel's favor and he was reinstated on his job with restora-

tion of part of his lost wages. No mention is made of what happened to the nurse.

When 19,000 UAW members walked off their jobs on Jan. 8, to protest a speed-up campaign in General Motors' Buick plants in Flint, Mich., Buick General Manager Edward D. Rollert complained that the strike "was completely unnecessary and unwarranted."

UAW Local 599 President Jack Wagner responded by accusing Rollert of not being familiar with the facts. Wagner charged Buick management of trying to set work standards "on some jobs that exceed twice the capacity of workers and machines."

A bad situation was made worse when 5,000 Boeing Aircraft workers in Seattle were laid off last December. According to the Washington State Department of Unemployment, the year 1964 started off with 10% of the state's work force out of work. This is 4% more than the 6% rate which the federal government uses to characterize economically depressed areas.

A state convention of the AFL-CIO held Jan. 11-12, pledged itself to oppose the election of any candidate for public office who fails to campaign against a right-to-work law for Oklahoma.

The proposed anti-labor law will be placed on the ballot during either the May 5 primary or May 26 run-off elections. Its place on the ballot resulted from a petition circulated by the National Right to Work Committee which was formed in 1955. The right-wing organization has conducted a rabid, anti-union campaign for years to get this issue on the ballot in Oklahoma.

Twenty states already have such a law on the books.

An editorial on unemployment in the Jan. 3, Missouri Teamster observes that a solution to this increasingly serious problem "tests the ingenuity of man. Even more, it can truly be said that capitalism is on trial."

...Rent Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Gable acts just like any slumlord and she has got to go."

Commenting on Mayor Robert F. Wagner's sudden plan to spend a million dollars on rat extermination, Gray said it was an attempt to stave-off the developing rent strike. "But it won't work," said Gray. "We don't just want to get rid of the rats. We want decent places to live. If they can find a million dollars to fight rats, they can find \$100 million and more to renovate the buildings."

The platform from which Gray spoke was decorated with three signs. The center one, picturing a rat climbing into a baby's crib, had the slogan: "All Rats Must Go!" To one side of this was a picture of a rat with an elephant's head labeled "Republican Party." To the other side was a picture of a rat with a donkey's head labeled "Democratic Party."

Around the hall were signs with the bread-and-butter slogans of the strike: "No Repairs — No Rents!"; "Save Rent Control — March on City Hall Jan. 23 — 10 a.m."; "No Action in January — No Votes in November!"; "No more Increases — Rents Are High Enough."

Speakers at the rally included authors James Baldwin and John O. Killens; Southern rights-fighter John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Leon Davis, president of Hospital Workers Local 1199; Congressman William Fitz Ryan; City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer; and Bill Strickland of the Northern Student Movement.

Slain Man's Wife Sues City In N.Y. Police Brutality Case

NEW YORK — In the face of an attempt to whitewash the police slaying of two Puerto Rican restaurant workers here Nov. 15, the wife of one of the slain men is suing the city for a half million dollars. This damage suit is the only method whereby civil-rights advocates and friends of the slain men can force a public airing of the case in court.

The two men, Victor Rodriguez and Maximo Solero, were killed in a patrol car that was supposed to be taking them to an upper west-side Manhattan police station for booking on a disorderly conduct charge. The cops who arrested them claimed Rodriguez had pulled a gun and fired, and that the driver, Patrolman A. J. Edmundson, was forced to shoot both the prisoners.

The cops were cleared by their superiors. Residents of the area, however, raised a number of questions. For one thing, the shooting took place under a viaduct which was in the opposite direction from that the car should have taken to get to the station. For another, each prisoner had a bullet hole in

his chest and on the left side of his head. Residents of the area feared the cops had taken the two men to the viaduct to "work them over" and that when the men resisted they were shot.

A demonstration of some 600 Negroes and Puerto Ricans occurred outside the police station Nov. 21 and subsequently the two cops were transferred, but kept on the force. Further demonstrations occurred and city officials promised an "investigation." The case is scheduled to be presented to a grand jury this month, but unless an indictment is handed down, grand jury proceedings are secret.

Received Threats

The lawyer for Mrs. Cecelia M. Rodriguez, who is suing, reported that his client has been followed by police and threatened by telephone. Attorney Irving Thau of the Workers Defense League said he had been forced to move Mrs. Rodriguez from hotel to hotel to avoid cops who were following her. In addition, he said, Mrs. Rodriguez' family in the Bronx had been threatened over the phone with death unless they revealed her hiding place.

Civil-rights and Puerto Rican leaders held a meeting Jan. 3 to discuss the case and they report that police questioned them and photographed them as they entered the hall. City Councilman Paul O'Dwyer, who appeared at the meeting after the incidents of police intimidation, said he was "shocked" by the action of the cops.

The meeting made plans to air the Rodriguez-Solero case and appointed a committee to set up a special civil-rights organization which will deal specifically with cases of police brutality. The committee includes Percy Sutton, head of the New York NAACP; Marshall England, of New York CORE; Gilbert Gerena-Valentin, head of the Congress of Puerto Rican Municipalities; and Oscar Suarez-Gonzales, leader of a group of seven lawyers who are gathering evidence on the Rodriguez-Solero case.

Chicago Educational Parley Slated By Young Socialists

The Young Socialist Alliance has planned a full schedule for this year's Midwest Conference to be held Jan. 25-26 in Chicago.

Of special interest will be the talk by George Breitman, author of many articles and pamphlets on the Negro struggle. He will speak Saturday, Jan. 25, 7:30 p.m. on "The Negro Struggle Today — What a Minority Can Do."

The conference will start at 10:30 sharp on Saturday morning with Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the YSA, speaking on "Algeria — Africa's Cuba?"

Robert Vernon will speak on "The Theory of the Negro Struggle" Saturday afternoon at 12:45. His latest article, "White Radicals and Black Nationalism," will be available.

Frame-up trials in the South, the Los Angeles Muslim case, and the indictment of three Bloomington YSAers will be the subject of Jack Barnes' survey: "Civil Liberties, Violence, and the Fight for Socialism." Following it a panel of defendants Tom Morgan and Ralph Levitt and representatives of the Committee to Aid the

Bloomington Students will answer questions about the YSA case.

Duncan Ferguson, sculptor and socialist, will speak on "The Artist and the Revolutionary Movement" Sunday at 11:00 a.m. At 1:30 p.m. Frank Lovell will speak on "The Dynamics of the Trade Union Movement." Lovell is a trade unionist and writer with extensive experience in the maritime unions and the United Auto Workers.

Full Schedule

All sessions of the conference will be held at 302 S. Canal St., Chicago. Sandwiches and soft drinks will be available between sessions at minimum cost.

Eighty young people from different parts of the Midwest attended last year's Midwest Conference. This year there is a fuller schedule of talks planned and a larger attendance is anticipated. Anyone interested in hearing the talks is welcome. Further information on the conference may be obtained by writing Jim Marshall, 302 S. Canal St., Chicago, or by phoning 624-5473.

Weekly Calendar**CLEVELAND**

1964 and the Johnson Administration. Speaker, Frank Lovell, Mich. State Chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Aup. Militant Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Fri., Jan. 24, 6:45 p.m. KPFF-FM, 90.7 on your dial.

NEW YORK

MARK LANE on Unanswered Questions in the Oswald Case. Fri., Jan. 24, 8:30 p.m. Grand Ballroom, Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 W. 57th St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

JAN 31 — Author HARVEY O'CONNOR on How State Dep't Aids Standard Oil. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl.

Jobless Ky. Miners Go to D.C. To Demand Jobs and Justice

A delegation of 30 unemployed coal miners from seven coal-producing counties in Eastern Kentucky, visited Washington, D.C., Jan. 7-9 to demand food, jobs, and justice.

Their demand for food was based upon the area's abject poverty. In Perry County, for example, some 16,000 out of 36,000 residents are on relief; in Letcher County, a health official recently reported: "Children eat soot out of the chimneys — are potbellied and anemic."

In emphasizing the immediate need for jobs, the delegation pointed out the 50 per cent (40,000-50,000) unemployment rate in the seven-county area and the fact that wages in non-union mines had fallen to as little as \$3 a day.

Their third demand — for justice — was for quashing a federal indictment against Berman Gibson, leader of the delegation, and seven other miners. They were indicted on a frame-up charge of conspiring to blow up a railroad trestle during a roving-picket strike against scab mines last spring.

Among government agencies visited by the miners' delegation were the Justice and Interior Departments, the Senate Subcommittee on Manpower, and offices of Kentucky Congressmen. They sought to see President Johnson to tell him personally about Eastern Kentucky's poverty and needs. But they were not granted a meeting and so instead were compelled to picket the White House to draw attention to their demands. In this action they were supported by the Washington, D.C., chapters of CORE and SNCC. In addition, SNCC made its offices available to, and otherwise aided, the delegation. The Committee for Miners, which was organized to raise funds for the legal defense of the



Berman Gibson

miners, also supported the delegation.

Speaking on behalf of the delegation, Berman Gibson approved the long-term, \$4.5 billion development plan recently proposed by a special presidential committee for the Appalachian region. He was critical, however, of the committee's failure to propose "adequate short-term relief of the situation that now exists."

While the unemployed miners' delegation left Washington without winning any tangible measures to bring food, jobs, and justice, they felt they had brought their case to the country's attention. As they boarded their bus to return home, they were all wearing large SNCC buttons in appreciation of the support given them by that civil-rights organization.

CNVA Leader Is Held in Ga., Scores Arrests of Marchers

JAN. 13 — David Dellinger, an editor of *Liberation* magazine and a leading member of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, was among six persons arrested last Thursday in Albany, Ga. while protesting the earlier arrest of 14 participants in the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo March. He will come up for trial tomorrow.

The first group has been in jail over the holidays; most of them have been fasting. Meanwhile, it has been announced that nine of this group will be released tomorrow. Ray Robinson, Jr., who stopped taking liquids on Friday, was hospitalized today. Yvonne Klein and Ellen Cooper went there Friday. All three are being forced.

According to the CNVA New York office, it was still in question whether the remaining demonstrators would be released soon. A number of them refused to appear

in court Jan. 8 when the nine were convicted of not following the route in a parade permit. They were held in contempt of court and were sentenced in absentia to a week in jail.

Dellinger told Albany Police Chief Pritchett that failure to release the marchers would lead to more demonstrations. Pritchett remarked to reporters: "I told him, 'A carload, a busload, a trainload — it don't make no difference to us. We've had people coming in here since 1961 and we've done got callous to all that business.'"

The CNVA-sponsored group originally left Quebec City, Canada, for Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, last May 26. They carry placards urging nuclear disarmament, racial integration, and a peaceful settlement with Cuba. Marching through other trouble spots in Georgia — Griffin and Macon — they have been arrested and tortured.

The original participants have been replaced by others as the march has proceeded.

Two weeks ago the Albany Movement announced a sympathy fast and demonstration for the CNVA marchers at a mass meeting at the Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Barbara Deming of Wellfleet, Mass., was featured speaker. She is a March participant but was not arrested.

The CNVA has called upon Albany city authorities to restore the marchers' civil liberties. Citing constitutional provisions and Supreme Court cases upholding freedom of speech, CNVA stated that it had sponsored peace walks through thousands of cities and towns on three continents. In all these places — except Georgia — its marchers walked freely, distributed leaflets, and talked freely with people.



Dave Dellinger

NEW YORK SCHOOL BIAS FIGHT Negro Groups Map Massive Boycott

By Adam Knox

NEW YORK, Jan. 12 — Civil-rights groups here are charting plans for a massive school boycott on Feb. 3. Organized by the Citywide Committee for School Integration, which includes the NAACP, CORE, and two large parents' groups, the boycott call comes after several weeks of attempts to obtain some meaningful action from the New York Board of Education and Superintendent of Schools Calvin Gross.

Arrangements are being made to obtain the support of the congregations of ghetto churches, where the children will attend "freedom schools" while the boycott is on. The massive job of organizing a boycott, which conceivably could top Chicago's record of 200,000, has begun — Bronx CORE, for example, has been fairly successful in sparking boycott committees organized by school kids themselves.

The root issue is not a new one: the feeling by many Negro groups that separate education does not and cannot mean equal education — whether the segregation is legal, as in the South, or simply *de facto*, resulting from territorial confines of the ghettos and the school-district boundaries drawn by the Board of Education.

Several weeks ago the City Commission on Human Rights, fearing a boycott, took issue with statements by Supt. Gross emphasizing "improving" schools in minority-group areas. Gross and the Board of Education, the Commission head said, took a position "contrary to the spirit if not the letter" of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling.

Attempting to counter such criti-



Roy Wilkins

cism, acting School Board President James B. Donovan remarked that he presides over a Board of Education, not a Board of Integration or Transportation.

On Dec. 23 Citywide Committee chairman, Rev. Milton A. Galamison, said he would be satisfied with a three-year citywide timetable for integration. Unless the School Board ceased its "jingoistic slogans" and took such steps, the Feb. 3 boycott was "virtually certain," he declared.

Galamison advocated the transportation of students from predominantly white and non-white schools to other schools where their presence would bring about integration.

With the School Board remaining adamant, Rev. Galamison and 36 others, including 16 children, were arrested as they attempted a sit-in at the office of School Supt. Gross on Dec. 30.

At one point over 150 Negro and white pickets marched in the freezing cold outside the School Board headquarters. They carried posters calling for "Full Integration of the City Schools"; they chanted, "Dr. Gross Must Go!"

Ignored Requests

A group of 26 was quickly organized to go to Gross' office on the tenth floor where, sitting on the floor, they ignored requests by Gross to leave. The assistant school superintendent then called the police to make arrests. Several demonstrators had to be carried out bodily.

Eleven others were arrested in a second, similar attempt that day. The demonstrators were cheered as the cops removed them from the building. "Shame! Shame!" chanted the pickets. "Just like Birmingham!"

That the school integration movement in this city has struck a sensitive nerve is shown by the amount of opposition it has aroused. All the big-business newspapers have attacked Rev. Galamison for his "extremism" in the fight. Politicians who had long proclaimed themselves ardent integrationists either ducked for cover or, loyal to the Democratic machine, denounced the movement as irresponsible and school boycotts as "fruitless." Even Roy Wilkins, head of the NAACP, equivocated, balancing criticisms of Rev. Galamison with criticisms of Wagner's school board appointees.

... Johnson

(Continued from Page 1)

just about what the government spends to buy one well-equipped aircraft carrier. It isn't enough to replace one-fourth of the completely dilapidated slum buildings in New York City alone, let alone the rest of the country.

Johnson's build-up for this drop in the bucket recalls what Mr. Dooley used to say about the millionaire philanthropist Andrew Carnegie — everytime he gave away a dollar it made as much noise as a waiter with a full tray of dishes falling down a flight of stairs.

Commenting on Johnson's speech, Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President said: "This country needs an unconditional war against poverty all right, but a second look at the actual measures Johnson proposes shows his attack is mostly hot air. The same thing is true of his so-called stand for civil rights. He is trying to win the Northern Negro vote at the same time he holds on to the Dixiecrats. We should make that impossible for him. Racial injustice has to be eliminated with deeds, not mere words."



Clifton DeBerry

ACLU Fails to See Oswald Widow; Mark Lane to Speak on Case in N.Y.

JAN. 15 — Attempts of the American Civil Liberties Union in Dallas to see Mrs. Marina Oswald, widow of Lee Oswald, have failed. The ACLU officials sought to determine whether she is being held against her will by the government. Meanwhile, Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, Lee Oswald's mother, has retained Mark Lane of New York as her attorney and asked that he represent her son before the Warren Commission.

Lane, a former member of the New York State Assembly had already submitted a brief on behalf of Oswald to the Warren Commission. He will discuss the issues surrounding the case at a New York meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum on Friday, Jan. 24. The meeting will be held at the Grand Ballroom of the Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 West 57th St., at 8:30 p.m.

At the meeting he will also play tapes of an interview he made with Marguerite Oswald during his recent investigation trip to Texas. He will also discuss his unsuccessful efforts to see Oswald's widow.

Ever since the day of Kennedy's assassination, Marina Oswald, 22, has been held in "protective custody" by the Secret Service. This young woman, who speaks only Russian, has been cut off for two months from her mother-in-law, whose efforts to see her have failed, and from her one close friend, Mrs. Ruth Paine, in whose house she had been living. Not only has Mrs. Paine been unable to see the young widow but she doesn't even know if the letters she handed to the Secret Service have ever been delivered to Mrs. Oswald.

The *New York Times* of Dec. 21 reported that in effect Oswald's widow was "being held incommunicado."

It is unconstitutional for police to hold a prisoner incommunicado because that is a well-known device to render a person psychologically as malleable as putty.

Such people can usually be made to say anything the police desire them to say. For this reason, courts have ruled, prisoners must be allowed to contact relatives and lawyers.

The Secret Service and FBI appear to have got around this "technicality" in the case of Mrs. Marina Oswald by having chosen a "business representative" and a lawyer for her. Neither she nor her friends had ever heard of these individuals before. They appear to be working more for the government agencies than for Mrs. Oswald. Thus from the same *New York Times* account it would appear that they have stressed to her that if she talks to anybody other than government agents, the relatively comfortable "informal" custody in which she is being held would be replaced by jailing as a material witness. It must be recalled that she has two small children and would not expect to be allowed to keep them with her in a jail cell.

Greg Olds, president of the Dallas ACLU, said his organization would continue to seek an interview with Mrs. Marina Oswald despite a written declination from her which is reported to have said: "I am in as good a position as one can expect me to be after what has happened."

Meantime, the newspapers carry leaks about the evolution of Mrs. Oswald's thinking and feeling about the case. Thus an *UPI* dispatch printed Jan. 9 stated: "Mrs. Lee Harvey Oswald, convinced her husband shot President Kennedy, today prepared for the task of burning deeper the assassin brand on the man she loved."

"Marina Oswald consented to appear before the Warren Commission. She was expected to tell the federal panel she believes her husband killed Mr. Kennedy, wounded Texas Gov. John Connally on Nov. 22 and earlier fired a sniper's bullet at former Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker."

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 28 - No. 3

345

Monday, January 20, 1964

Turn the Canal Over to Panama

The "Good Neighbor Policy" and the "Right of Nations to Self-Determination and Sovereignty": Unless Washington is willing to concede these much-used phrases are empty propaganda, it will announce its willingness to turn the Panama Canal over to Panama.

All over the world, people who have suffered under colonialism or semi-colonialism bitterly oppose any of their national territory being owned or ruled by a foreign power. This is one of the most elementary principles of the great anti-colonial revolution sweeping the world. It was manifested in the bloodily-suppressed demonstrations of Tunisians against the French Naval Base at Bizerte. It was voted by the 1961 conference of neutral nations in Belgrade. It is voiced persistently by Cuba in demanding U.S. withdrawal from its soil at Guantanamo Bay.

Panamanians, too, have been protesting for years. Their latest protest could not be concealed from the U.S. or world public because it cost a score of Panamanian lives as well as those of three GIs.

Panamanians are sick and tired of being made second-class citizens in their own country; they are sick of the racism the Mississippi-minded colonialists try to impose on the country. They are indignant that the main natural resource of their impoverished country — its geographic location — has been usurped by a rich foreign power which rules a 500-square-mile swath through the center of the country.

The U.S. doesn't need to own the Panama Canal any more than the British need to own Suez. The right for U.S. ships to use the canal can be stipulated in an agreement with Panama. The Panamanians can run the canal just as efficiently as the Egyptians have been running the Suez Canal.

In other words, it's high time for the U.S. to turn the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone over to the Panamanians.

Overtime and Unemployment

Johnson's State of the Union message made it abundantly clear that — like Kennedy — he is absolutely opposed to reducing the work-week. But facing an election and recognizing that unemployment and job insecurity weigh heavily on the voters' minds, Johnson felt a need to temper his rejection of the shorter work-week. So he proposed steps toward setting higher penalties for overtime work in industries where that "would increase job openings without unduly increasing costs."

In so doing, Johnson tacitly admitted that reducing the number of hours worked is an effective way of increasing the number of jobs. Although he said, "Our goal is not to spread the work. Our goal is to create more jobs," the real meaning of his proposal to reduce overtime is precisely to spread the work.

Of course Johnson's proposals are hedged with qualifications. For example, a tripartite commission — not labor — would decide when to increase the pay premiums the boss must pay for overtime; and the "without-unduly-increasing-costs" loophole is big enough for many an overtime-fat boss to crawl through. Nevertheless Johnson has admitted the principle of the thing.

Militant trade unionists have always been opposed to overtime and have long favored a drastic increase in penalty pay for overtime to halt the stretching of the work week. Overtime is for infrequent emergencies only. No one should have to work overtime to make a decent living.

The trouble with the proposal to discourage overtime work is that it doesn't go far enough. The only really effective answer to galloping automation, which is knocking out 40,000 jobs or more per week, is a sharp cut in the work week, not just regularizing it at 40 hours. A 30-hour week with no reduction in pay would immediately increase the number of jobs available by approximately one-fourth.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 825-2779.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9235. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. WE 1-8967.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

THAT 'TRICKLE DOWN' THEORY

Profits at Peak — Unemployment Persists

By Tom Kerry

The "trickle-down" theory which dominates the economic policy of the administration in Washington is working out fabulously for the stock-jobbers of Wall Street and the profit-hogs of Big Business. As for the workers — that's another story!

The trickle theory is based on the premise that the bigger the profits for the moguls of banking, industry and commerce, the better it will be for the workers; that the more massive is the layer of fat on top the more will "trickle down" the economic ladder to satisfy the needs of the working people who occupy the lower rungs. That's the theory. In practice, the results turn out quite differently.

The headlines over two stories on the feature page of the year-end National Economic Review published annually by the *New York Times* give the lie to the "trickle-down" theory. One reads: "Company Profits Astound Experts: Exceed All Expectations — Record Figures Certain" (Jan. 6).

In another column on the same page: "Unions Bedeviled by Unemployment: High Rate Cuts Down Their Membership and Weakens Bargaining Position."

In other words, profits so lush as to "astound experts" have not led to an increase in the well-being of the workers who produce the wealth of this nation. On the contrary, the rate of unemployment remains at a peak six per cent; wages have remained virtually frozen while the cost of living continues to climb; there has been a steady erosion in the standard of living of the working people; labor's slice of the economic pie grows ever smaller as that of the employing oligarchy gets bigger and bigger. And the end is not yet!

In a special study of the steel industry, bellwether of the national economy, the Jan. 2, *Wall Street Journal*, reports higher profits and lower labor costs in 1963 with more of the same predicted for the next several years. "Steel profits," it says, "with the added help of rising output and prices, jumped 29% from the 1962 level in the first nine months of 1963, and for the full year probably reached \$730 million against a ten-year low of \$567 million in 1962."

The increase is attributed in the main to "lower labor costs." This, in turn, is due primarily to the increase in labor productivity because of increased mechanization and automation plus what the *Wall Street Journal* calls the ability of the steel mills "to negotiate relatively cheap union contracts."

And, adds the *WSJ*, the reduction in labor costs is likely to continue. "Last summer's steel labor agreement," it affirms, "will hold hourly payments to mill hands, at least until May 1, 1965, to the lowest annual percentage gains since the United Steelworkers union (USW) was formed in 1936." In addition: "Industry capacity to melt steel in fast-working oxygen furnaces, which sharply boost output per man-hour, is scheduled to almost triple by the end of 1965."

What this means, as spelled out for the steel industry, is generally applicable throughout the whole of the economy. "Technical advances already made," says the *WSJ*, "have slashed the number of production worker man-hours needed to turn out a ton of finished steel to 10.4 in the first ten months of 1963, from 10.9 in all of 1962, and 12.3 in 1957. Putting the same trend in different figures, the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates that output per man-hour worked in steel has risen 4.7% a year in the past two years, against an average of 2.4% a year from 1940 through 1961. One result: Industry employment dropped to an average of 408,000 wage earners in the first ten



McDonald

months of 1963, from 409,000 in the like 1962 period, though steel shipments rose 7%."

The trend toward increased output with fewer workers is as true of the white-collar as of the blue-collar employee. "Industry employment of salaried workers in 1963," says the report, "averaged 114,680, after a continuous reduction from the peak of 121,660 in 1960. Though the numbers involved may not appear great," it adds, "this cut has sliced \$80 million a year off the industry's labor bill . . ."

Further technological advances are coming, says the report, quoting Executive Vice President Robert E. Williams of Youngstown Sheet and Tube, who says, "the steel industry is on the threshold of technical advances of unprecedented proportions."

With the union lacking an effective policy to protect the workers, such "technical advances" can only serve to accelerate the current trend toward bigger profits for the steel tycoons, growing job insecurity and unemployment for the steel workers, with a growing disproportion in the division of the national income. A minimum requirement must be a drastic change in the policy and leadership of the United Steelworkers union.

Perhaps no other union leader has been so imbued with the policy of labor-management co-operation and harmony as David J. McDonald, president of the Steelworkers. The results are summarized by the findings of the *WSJ* report. "Between 1940 and 1960," it points out, "steel labor agreements raised wages and fringe benefits an average of 8% a year, steel men contend. The 30-month 1960 pact slowed the gain to 3.5% a year, and the one-year 1962 agreement to 2.5% — all in fringe benefits; mills handed out their last direct wage boost in October 1961."

"Now, steel men figure the 1963 agreement will cut the increase to an average of only 1.5% to 1.9% a year over the present \$4.30 hourly wages-plus-benefits rate — again with all the increase in benefits. And that's if the pact is canceled May 1, 1965; if it's extended, as it can be, the yearly percentage rise will be lower. Thus, the pact is the first ever signed by the

USW to raise hourly rates less than the 2% annual increase in productivity that executives estimate steel mills have averaged over the long pull."

What this means in terms of profits is indicated by a report of the American Iron and Steel Institute whose figures show that "mills paid an average \$61 in wages, salaries and fringe benefits for each ton of steel shipped in the first ten months of 1963. That's down from \$63.50 in all 1962 and \$65.50 in 1961, and is the lowest figure since 1957, except for strike-distorted 1959. The decline is the first since 1955, except for one in 1959, and the first two-year drop at least since World War II."

Labor co-operation and harmony, à la David McDonald, pays off handsomely — for the corporations. The steel moguls are not unmindful of services rendered. Giving credit where credit is due, Robert C. Tyson, chairman of U.S. Steel's finance committee, declares: "There is a greater understanding on the part of labor that you cannot have a strong economy if it is profitless, a realization that is certainly true of the major union with which we deal."

The unctuous McDonald, vain as a peacock — of whom it is said that here is one man who can strut sitting down — preens his feathers whenever any boss-man has anything nice to say of him. And he is not averse to reciprocating in kind. An editorial statement in the November 1963 issue of the union paper, *Steel Labor*, entitled: "Human Relations . . . and Thanksgivings," quotes labor-statesman McDonald giving expression to his "humanist" philosophy.

"We seek," McDonald piously avers, "only an equitable share for our members of the fruits of their labors. We prefer compromise to conflict; mutual good faith and responsibility to mistrust and rancor; productivity and peace to idleness and hardship."

"Today we have entered into a new era of contract bargaining which hopefully may forever end the industrial strike and bitterness that in years past were part of every major gain our union achieved."

To all of which the sleek profit-hogs of the steel industry add their sanctimonious Amen!

McDonald prides himself on being a labor-relations trailblazer. After putting on a big show around the demand for a shorter work-week to counter the trend toward reduction of the work force in the steel industry, he settled for an extended vacation plan which he touted as the answer to technological unemployment in steel. The *Wall Street Journal* quotes a steel analyst who wryly punctures McDonald's inflated boast: "Noting Mr. McDonald's prediction last June that the extended vacation plan would open 25,000 new jobs for steelworkers, he says: 'Steel executives just laugh at the figure and ask: Why spoil Dave's party?' Some fun! It's all a big joke — to everyone but the steelworkers."

In Handy Permanent Form

THE MILITANT

1963 Bound Volume

\$7.50

SPECIAL OFFER: Until the end of February, in honor of the fifth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution, we are offering the five bound volumes of THE MILITANT — 1959-63 — that offer an unsurpassed collection of texts of speeches by Cuban leaders, official documents, reports from Cuba and analyses of developments there at a special savings. Each volume is \$7.50. Send \$30 for all five.

THE MILITANT

116 University Place
New York, N. Y., 10003

...Reflections on the State of the Economy

(Continued from Page 1)

erages achieved new peaks in 1963. But the administration has pointed with most pride to the GNP.

Measured in current dollars, the GNP appears indeed to have achieved a fantastic growth since 1929. But if the GNP is pictured in the real terms of a fixed or constant dollar then its bright hue is toned down considerably. Just glance over the following figures for key years back to 1929.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

	In Billions of Current Dollars	In Billions of Constant (1954) Dollars
1929	104.4	181.8
1933	55.9	126.6
1939	91.1	189.3
1945	213.6	314.0
1946	210.7	282.5
1948	259.4	293.1
1949	258.1	292.7
1951	329.0	341.8
1954	363.1	363.1
1960	504.4	440.8
1962	553.9	471.9
1963*	571.8	482.7

*1st Quarter

Measured in current dollars, the GNP appears to have grown almost six times within the 35 years from 1929 through 1963. But in constant dollars, based on purchasing power rather than face value, the GNP has increased little more than two-and-a-half times.

Even in terms of the constant dollar, the increase in the GNP is not a true measure of the advance of the economy. If the GNP has grown greatly even in absolute amount of fixed dollars since 1929, the nation's population has also increased. Today's GNP must be measured in terms of population growth. How much larger is the GNP per person today compared to a decade or two, or three ago? Is it six times as great? Or two-and-a-half? Look over the following table of figures showing the per capita gross national product in key years.

GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT

(Per Capita in '54 Dollars)

Year	Amount
1929	1,492
1939	1,445
1945	2,244
1949	1,962
1953	2,312
1954	2,236
1957	2,387
1958	2,306
1960	2,440
1963	2,796*

*(Est.)

We have now boiled most, but

not all, of the fat out of the GNP, which is estimated for 1963 at about \$585 billion in today's de-based dollar. But in pre-shrunk dollars on a per capita basis the GNP is not 600%, nor 250% higher than in 1929, but 86.7%. And you don't need a Univac to figure that out. On a per capita basis, the GNP is less than 25% higher than in 1945.

We have not quite finished with our dissection of that fat and fascinating corpus of the GNP. Study the per capita figures a bit more. Observe that in the ten peacetime years from 1929 to 1939 the per capita GNP registered a decline. The sizeable leaps occurred simultaneously with vast increases in spending for wars (1945 and 1953) and for war preparations (1957, 1960 and 1963). Declines in war spending (1949, 1954 and 1958) were almost immediately registered by sags in the per capita real GNP.

I leave aside the numerous concealed fictitious values included in the GNP. There is one we all know about, however, that grossly distorts the GNP as a measure of the economy. It is government spending for military purposes. In 1929, it was less than 1% of the GNP. In 1963, it was about 10%, not including military spending hidden under non-military categories in the budget, like the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). All government spending (federal, state and local), which was 8.1% of the GNP 35 years ago, has swollen to 22% for this fiscal year ending June 30, 1964.

Debt: The total debt (public and private) of the American people is now well over one trillion dollars (\$1,000,000,000,000 or \$1,000 billion). An ever greater percentage of the national income is siphoned off in payment for past purchases and in mounting interest. That debt is directly related to the \$1½ trillion of war spending since 1941. The second largest item in the federal budget, next to war spending, is interest on the debt, now in the neighborhood of \$10 billion a year and more than 1,000 per cent larger than in 1939.

The federal debt alone is \$309 billion and is expected to increase to \$315 billion by July 1, the end of the 1964 fiscal year. State and local government debts total some \$75 billion and are expected to continue rising so rapidly that they will offset any promised fed-



HECTIC NERVE CENTER. Floor of the New York Stock Exchange at height of feverish activity on May 29, 1962, when 14.7 million shares were traded in the biggest day since 1929. Investors were busy buying up stock dumped on market by small shareholders during previous day's sudden drop.

eral tax cuts. Consumer debt is now 16% of personal income and repossessions, mortgages delinquencies and personal bankruptcies are rising.

Industrial Production: The industrial-production index, which measures the physical volume of goods produced, rose in November to a record of 126.9% of the 1957-59 average, up from the November 1962 index of 119.5. Both these figures are for peak pre-holiday quarters. From the low point of the first quarter in 1961 to the high point of the last quarter in 1963, industrial production appears to have jumped 22%. For the whole of 1963, however, the index averages out to about 124 compared to 118 in 1962. This increase is about 5.1%. But if we compare 1963 with 1960, when the index for the year was 110, the increase over three years is 12.7%, not 22%. Moreover, the National Industrial Conference Board in its annual forecast, issued Jan. 6, foresees an increase of about 3% in the industrial-production index for all of 1964. This would mean a decline in the rate of increase of industrial production, perhaps the key economic indicator.

Key Industries

What may be more significant than the overall index is the showing for three key industries, steel, automobiles and housing.

The auto industry, which almost up to the last week of 1963 was predicting an all-time annual record, actually achieved an output below 1955, eight years ago. On Jan. 2, the auto industry issued its year-end report. It estimated the total car output last year at 7,636,993 compared to 7,942,125 in 1955. But the 1963 figure is deceptive. It was achieved by a last quarter speed-up of the new car models in order to swell the 1963 total. The *Wall Street Journal* reported on Jan. 3 from Detroit that "some auto men think the January schedule is too high and will be revised downward in the next week" because inventory in dealers' showrooms on Dec. 20 totaled 962,000 cars.

Ward's Automotive Reports on Dec. 30 said that 1963 auto sales hit an all-time annual record. However, this "record" was fabricated by lumping together sales of U.S.-made and imported cars. The estimated 7.5 million new cars sold included 380,000 imports, which means that U.S. car sales were 7,120,000. In 1955, there were 7,408,000 U.S. cars sold and only 52,000 imports.

The steel industry, which also was claiming records for 1963, actually fell behind the years 1957, 1956, 1955 and 1953 in total output. Production was 109.5 million tons last year compared to 112.7

million in 1957 and the record 117 million tons of 1955, eight years ago.

New housing starts, according to an administration report of Jan. 2, exceeded 1,500,000 in 1963, which is less than the record 1,650,000 of 1955.

We are also witnessing the deterioration of so-called "sick" industries, which are suffering major declines in output, income or employment, or all three. The most notable are coal, shipbuilding, textiles and, very significantly, agriculture.

Catastrophic Decline

The decline in coal production in the past decade or so has been catastrophic. Bituminous output fell from 500,505,000 tons in 1956 to 451,000,000 in 1963, with a work force reduced two-thirds in a decade. The cotton textile industry is being swamped by synthetic fibers. The private shipbuilding industry, which in World War II couldn't handle its profits with a "steamshovel," according to testimony before a wartime Congressional committee, is now reduced to a skeleton.

Net farm income in 1963 is estimated to be two to three per cent below 1962, despite bumper crops, and "is likely to drop again in 1964," according to the *New York Times* report of Jan. 6. On Jan. 1, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman stated that half the nation's farm-operator families — some 1.6 million; nearly 2.9 million rural non-farm families; and three-fourths of 800,000 farm-laborer families live on incomes below \$3,000 a year per family. "Thus," said Freeman, "more than 15 million rural Americans live under conditions of poverty."

Like the 1920s

In the "sick" industries, including that most basic one, agriculture, the U.S. is already in profound depression. In this respect, the present period bares a striking similarity to conditions in the 1920s just preceding the Great Depression.

The facts about unemployment are too well known to need extensive summary. Suffice it to say that unemployment is almost 6 per cent of the labor force, numbering 4,290,000 jobless in November, according to the government figures, which are at least .5 to 2.5 million short of the actual number, not counting workers on part-time who are unable to secure full-time jobs. Nobody dares to offer more than a pious hope that this will somehow be reduced in the next year or so. The prospect is for higher unemployment due to the ever-more rapid growth of the labor force and "labor-saving" technological improvements.

Liquid Capital: "The United States is awash in a sea of liquidity" and not since the Korean War "have corporations and individual Americans been so flush with cash," says a *N.Y. Times* economic survey of Jan. 6. Among other "bizarre aspects" of this capital-choked period is the "spectacle of cash-heavy corporations competing with banks to finance the Treasury securities markets, other businesses and foreign borrowers..." In short, huge accumulations of capital are frantically seeking sources of profitable investments. The economy is "awash" in a flood of liquid capital. These vast capital sums are seeking ravenously for more and more profits. But business spending for plants and equipment as a share of the total national production remains well below the two periods of previous economic expansion, 1953-57 and 1957-60.

New investment for plants and equipment is primarily for lower unit output costs, not increased total production. At the same time, more and more capital is seeking the parasitic outlet of stock market and commodities speculation.

It is therefore only a question of time until the deferred economic crisis of 1962 will push through the seawalls erected by the government. We cannot fix a date for their crumbling, but the economic tide is inexorable and in the end will prevail.

WINTER ISSUE

International Socialist Review

WHITE RADICALS AND BLACK NATIONALISM by Robert Vernon. A penetrating study of why white radicals find it so difficult to understand the growing black nationalist tendency in the struggle for Negro equality. An illuminating contribution to a complex problem.

DEUTSCHER ON TROTSKY by Joseph Hansen. The concluding volume of Isaac Deutscher's trilogy, *The Prophet Outcast*, reviewed by a member of the Trotsky household in Coyoacan at the time of Trotsky's assassination. Hansen was secretary and collaborator of Leon Trotsky during the last period of his life.

FLIVER KING: A CENTENNIAL APPRAISAL by Evelyn Sell. A revealing antidote to the eulogies lavished by the capitalist press on the occasion of the 100th Anniversary of the birth of Henry Ford. The man and his work is subjected to a critical evaluation with special emphasis on the Fliver King's impact on American industrial society.

PROBLEMS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION by the Editors of ISR. The unresolved problems inherited by the Johnson administration after the assassination of president Kennedy are posed in the light of American historical development.

THE FEMINE MYSTIQUE a review by Evelyn Reed of Betty Friedan's sensational critique of American women and the forces molding the character of bourgeois women within the cultural environment created by our "affluent society."

Send 50 cents for a copy
or \$1.50 for a one-year subscription

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW
116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y.

MUST READING

The Road To Revolution In Latin America BY FIDEL CASTRO

Complete text of major policy
speech delivered on tenth an-
niversary of the historic July 26
attack on Fort Moncada.

50 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE BRITISH BUS SALE

Body Blow to Embargo of Cuba

By Harry Ring

"The United States has a surplus of wheat, we have a surplus of buses." — Comment by an unofficial British source in Washington on U.S. complaints about the British sale of buses to Cuba.

Observers are generally agreed that Cuba dealt a crippling blow to the U.S. embargo when it successfully negotiated for the purchase of an \$11-million fleet of buses from Leyland Motors of Great Britain.

The sale of the buses was also testimony to the viability of the Cuban Revolution by a hard-headed British business firm. In extending five years' credit on the deal and in offering the option of further purchases, Leyland — the world's biggest exporter of heavy-duty trucks and buses — was saying in effect that it is confident that the Castro government is a stable and a safe investment.

Successful completion of the sale means a great deal for Cuba in strengthening its economy and further improving the living standard of its people. As in many other Latin American countries, buses are a major means of transporting both produce and people in Cuba. Its present fleet had become badly run down and the shortage of spare parts acute.

In his Jan. 2 speech celebrating the fifth anniversary of the revolution, Castro had pointed to the improvement of bus transportation as one of the primary fields in which recently increased Cuban income would be utilized. He also dwelt at length on the failure of the U.S. blockade to cripple the Cuban economy.

As was to be expected, U.S. officials were quick to express their unhappiness at the British decision to ignore the embargo and Secretary of Commerce Hodges was asinine enough to suggest that the buses were really "strategic" materials which could be used to transport troops.

In reply to U.S. protests a British Board of Trade official icily noted: "Manufacturers are at liberty to sell as and when they find the opportunity. There has never been a boycott of Cuba by



Fidel Castro

Britain." A Leyland Corp. official added that a country "would look damn silly going to war in a bus."

Lack of concern about the U.S. protest was apparently widespread in Britain. The day the bus transaction was announced Leyland stocks enjoyed a 37-cents-a-share increase on the British Stock Exchange.

Nor was the sentiment confined to Britain. This was pointed up when Leyland disclosed it had obtained the contract from Cuba in successful competition against bids by manufacturers in France, West Germany, Japan, Spain and Czechoslovakia.

Indeed, the bus sale is but part of a growing pattern of Cuban trade gains. Britain itself has more than doubled its Cuban sugar purchases since 1961 and consequently, there has been a rise in its sales to Cuba.

There have also been these developments in relation to Cuba's growing role in the world market:

- Italy has begun to import Cuban sugar in payment of previ-

ous Cuban debts and this will clear the way for a resumption of trade.

- Japan, which before the U.S. clampdown had little trade with Cuba, is now its biggest single customer.

- Spain, which has also been steadily increasing its trade with Cuba, is now reported readying a deal to sell the Castro government 100 ships at a cost of \$500,000,000.

- France is seeking closer ties with Cuba. At his New Year's reception in Paris, de Gaulle made a demonstration of special and particular welcome to the Cuban ambassador. Despite U.S. protest, France is negotiating the sale of an undisclosed number of auto plants to Cuba and has already sold it other types of plants.

U.S. blacklisting of companies whose ships carry cargo to Cuba is also meeting more outspoken opposition. The Leyland Corp. was compelled to contract with East Germany to deliver the buses because British shippers were unwilling to risk the U.S. reprisals. Commenting on this, the influential British journal, the *Guardian*, suggested that the next time a British firm sells to Cuba, it would be a nice gesture for the Royal Navy to provide shipping. It asked if the U.S. would dare blacklist a Royal Navy vessel. The paper added:

"The absurdity of any such idea illustrates the absurdity of the present United States boycott. But it is an absurdity with nasty undertones and sets nasty precedents. The best hope of peace in the world is in letting nations go about their lawful business and helping all men to earn a living. Blackmail is an ugly thing; it hurts innocent third parties, as in this case, but in the end it is likely to hurt the blackmailer far more."

As Fidel Castro put it in his Jan. 2 speech:

"When a nation trades with Cuba it is threatened. They want to blackmail it . . . No nation will tolerate restrictions of this type . . . In the long run what the imperialists are doing with this is to lose markets . . . They are making a noose for their own necks with this policy."

Case of Force and Fraud

History of the Canal

By David Goodwin

The history of the Panama Canal is a classic illustration of the force and fraud employed by imperialism.

In the latter part of the 19th Century the U.S. had decided to build a canal across Nicaragua and had already acquired canal rights there. But a French company, which had abandoned work on a canal across the part of Colombia which is now Panama, wanted the U.S. to buy up its project. In 1896 Frenchman Bunau-Varilla, the chief creditor of the canal company, obtained the co-operation of William Nelson Cromwell, a prominent New York corporation lawyer, in putting through the deal.

In 1900 Cromwell gave \$60,000 to the Republican Party campaign fund to block Congressional endorsement of the canal route through Nicaragua. The \$60,000 donation was charged to the French company. In 1902 Congress paid off by passing the Spooner Bill favoring the Panama route and the rights of the French company there were appraised at \$40 million.

Unidentified Stockholders

The U.S. government eventually turned this \$40 million over to J. P. Morgan & Co. for transfer to the unidentified stockholders of the French company. Two subsequent Congressional investigations failed to uncover the identity of these stockholders. It was an open secret that they were largely U.S. robber barons and politicians in on the deal who had bought the French company's depreciated stock for peanuts and then pushed the Panama route through Congress.

To make sure that Colombia wouldn't stand in the way or strike too hard a bargain for use of its territory, the French company had promised \$100,000 to several small Panamanian groups to revolt if Colombia did not accept the terms offered by the U.S. They were also promised that U.S. forces would block any attempts by Colombia to put down their revolt.

The stage was set. In 1903 Colombia's Senate voted almost

unanimously against the terms offered by the U.S. and the phony revolution began Nov. 3, 1903. Colombian troops, sent to suppress it, were stopped by U.S. Marines and battleships at Colon.

These U.S. forces had been stationed at Colon by President Theodore Roosevelt, America's own breast-beating imperialist, long beforehand. Indeed, the *New York World* had even forecast the exact date of the synthetic "revolution" six months earlier.

Bunau-Varilla now double crossed the Panamanian "revolutionists." He refused to pay the agreed-upon \$100,000 unless they made him Panama's representative to Washington. They had to give in and he reached Washington Nov. 13 and the U.S. formally recognized the "new" nation. Within five days he signed a treaty for Panama, granting the U.S. the canal zone "in perpetuity."

This treaty was never ratified by a constitutional body of Panama but only by a group somewhat resembling a cabinet of the new government. The creation and diplomatic recognition of Panama was so fraught with force and corruption and the treaty was so unfavorable to Panama that Latin Americans regarded it as nothing less than an attempt to "legalize" outright thievery.

...Panama Canal

(Continued from Page 1)

it, he left the U.S. flag flying by itself. The students announced they would raise it every day.

After three days of watching this failure of the U.S. authorities to enforce the flag agreement, Panamanian students took matters into their own hands. A group of about 40 boys and girls, carrying a Panamanian flag, entered the Zone while their classmates waited at the border for them.

The events which followed are variously reported. The Panamanian flag was ripped either before or after being hoisted in front of Balboa High and the Panamanian students were either mishandled by the U.S. students or ejected by the Zone police.

U.S. authorities are trying to revise the original accounts of the fighting. Some of the things these first accounts say are as follows:

"Zone policemen, reinforced by a special U.S. Army riot squad composed of Panamanians, fought them back with baseball bats, tear gas and shock grenades. Later armored cars and tanks helped drive the rioters back to the border." (Special dispatch to the *New York Times* on Jan. 9 from Balboa, C.Z.)

The *Associated Press* dispatch of Jan. 10 from Panama City contained the following revealing passages:

Yanks Fired First

"Panamanian National Guard headquarters said the first firing against the crowd in Panama City came from U.S. civilian police employed by the Canal Zone government . . . There were reports of rock-throwing by Panamanians, but none of shooting by them . . ."

"Panamanian National Guard headquarters said U.S. armored cars fired on the crowds and repulsed them . . ."

"Persons at the scene said bursts of machine-gun fire were coming from the zone. They said about 20 to 25 U.S. soldiers could be seen firing from behind a tank and another tank was visible farther away."

It was the opening of fire on the crowd of high-school students that drove the Panamanian population into a fury and forced even the pro-U.S. Chiari government to break diplomatic relations with Washington and demand a revision of the canal treaty.

PUPPET REGIME BOGGING DOWN

U.S. May Send More Troops to Vietnam

By Steve Graham

JAN. 14 — The military situation in South Vietnam shows victories by a relatively small number of guerrillas over the half-million strong South Vietnamese army, backed by at least 17,000 U.S. troops. This proves with more eloquence than any words that the Vietnamese rural population decisively supports the guerrillas.

Hoping to change this dangerous and embarrassing situation, Defense Secretary McNamara recently met with the Saigon generals to plan an intensive six-month offensive in the Mekong Delta provinces bordering Saigon.

In addition, the U.S. is pressuring Saigon to try ways of winning over the peasants politically. Diem's basic rural policy was the so-called "strategic-hamlet program," mapped out by U.S. advisers. It involves rounding up the rural population and herding them into barbed-wire enclosures. They work under guard during the day, often without pay, are locked up at night and can be shot if they try to leave.

This was to prevent the farmers from aiding the guerrillas. But it has worked out no more effectively in Vietnam than it did for the French in Algeria. Thousands of "strategic hamlets" have been smashed by the guerrilla fighters; many have been destroyed and abandoned by the inmates. The program's net effect was only to

intensify peasant hatred for the authoritarian Saigon regime and its U.S. backers.

In response to Washington's urgings, Gen. Duong Van Minh announced in a Jan. 2 speech that his government would give "special priority to the development of the rural areas."

Even if this government of warlords and landlords were genuinely interested in benefiting the peasants, it is too busily involved in internal rivalries to devote any efforts in that direction. This was made dramatically evident in the recent maneuvering to downgrade Gen. Ton That Dinh, one of the key figures in the coup against Diem.

In fact, the only concrete "step" the generals have taken for a new rural policy is to rename the "strategic hamlet" program, "the Civil-Military Complex."

The futility of U.S.-proposed gimmicks, both military and political, is reflected in the Jan. 2 *Christian Science Monitor* report by Washington correspondent Robert K. Brunn:

"More than ever American officials believe the Duong [Van Minh] government must set up a rapport with the delta people . . . Somehow a military offensive, a strategic hamlet program and agricultural projects must be stepped up and co-ordinated so that the peasant's visible apathy toward Saigon is dissipated."

Brunn indicates, however, that not much faith is placed in these "somehows." "If after six months the delta operation has not shown decided improvement," he writes, "the U.S. may find itself discussing the sending of more American troops to South Vietnam."

Secretary McNamara recently abandoned earlier promises that all GIs would be out of Vietnam by the end of 1965. Joseph Alsop writes in the Jan. 3 *Washington Post* that President Johnson now considers South Vietnam "the second area of maximum danger" after Latin America. "A confidence-increasing move of some sort is clearly in order," Alsop reports. A Jan. 13 AP dispatch from Saigon reports that "the United States may soon have to choose between watching the Communists win in South Vietnam or sending in major American combat units."

One thing seems fairly clear. The corrupt gang of generals and their troops who serve only for pay are unable, by themselves, to stop the peasant revolutionaries.

Any increase of the number of GIs in this dirty jungle war involves a domestic risk, however, for the Washington politicians. Even the war-mongering Hearst press has recently reflected the people's growing concern at the rising U.S. casualty list in Vietnam, which now stands at least 166 dead and over 400 wounded.

"Much will depend," writes Warren Rogers in the Jan. 2 *New York Journal-American*, "upon whether the American people, especially in an election year, continue to be willing to accept a growing casualty list." The Jan. 13 *Monitor* likewise quotes an American diplomat: "I'm not at all sure the American public or Congress are willing at this point to risk World War III — and there would be such a risk if we started bringing in combat elements."

The Oct. 11 *Cleveland Plain Dealer* quoted the father of a 28-year-old lieutenant killed in Vietnam: "Bruce wrote that we would lose the war there, that the Communists would take over. He said, 'It's like pouring money down a bottomless rathole. People are very friendly. But I can't understand the whole purpose behind the war.' Neither can I," the father concluded.

The paper also quoted the mother of Corporal Luther E. Ritchey, 20, who was killed in the same engagement: "That whole country is not worth the life of one American boy. It's an idiot war!"

Reports indicate that the rate of U.S. casualties in the "idiot war" have risen with the recently increased guerrilla operations. GIs will surely figure prominently in the "six-months" offensive if it goes through — including in the casualty lists.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Johnson vs. McNamara

Los Angeles, Calif.

The New York Times of Dec. 18th reported the full text of President Johnson's speech before the United Nations. Excerpts follow.

(1) "The greatest of human problems and the greatest of our common tasks is to keep the peace and to save the future." (2) "If there is one commitment more

than any other that I would like to leave with you today it is my unswerving commitment to the keeping and strengthening of the peace." (3) "The United States wants to see the cold war end once and for all." (4) "The United States wants to press on with arms control and reduction."

The same issue of the Times also reported the statements made by Secretary of Defense McNamara before NATO in Paris.

(1) "In the next four years, McNamara assured, NATO will put into operation ten times as many missile sites as it now has." (2) McNamara disclosed that U.S. Army strength in Europe and elsewhere has increased by 45 per cent. (3) He reported on the program for improving air-lift capacity by 400 per cent by 1968.

Evidently, the statements by McNamara before NATO in Paris were with the knowledge and approval of our President and are in glaring contradiction to the statements about peace by our President before the United Nations.

The American people have a right to assume that President Johnson's noble phrases about peace before the United Nations and the world were to disguise our continuous increase in armaments of mass destruction that will increase the danger of nuclear war.

A.S.

A TV Story

New York, N.Y.

When papers like the *Militant* or *Muhammad Speaks* point out that the American Way of Life reeks of racism, defenders of the system accuse them of exaggerating.

Unfortunately for those who say this, the racism of the schools, movies and television can be pretty easily demonstrated. Less talked about, though, but just as vicious, is the anti-labor poison peddled by these same propaganda media.

The other night I spent an evening in front of the "box" and saw an example of anti-labor bias in its crudest form. It was a Western about a rancher (the good guy) who had been selling wood to a railroad to build a trestle. He became temporarily crippled and wasn't up to his usual stuff. So the bad guy (who stood to get the wood contract if the hero defaulted) began to tease the hero's sons about their tough luck. The sons decided they would get the job done without the old man.

Almost everyone else in the play figured life couldn't go on without the head man. The villain and hero's hired help decided that with him out of the picture the enterprise was finished.

Came the big scene. The sons were near the woodpile set to keep production going. The workers came up and indicated they didn't think the job could be done without the old man. The audience knew the mantle of authority had already passed to the hero's eldest son. But those dumb, brutish workers hadn't caught on yet.

Well, I watched a dozen hired hands try to take on this one heir of property. And all 12 of them couldn't budge him from on top of that woodpile. With a single

thumping blow apiece, he sent them groaning back to work. Now even the workers understood the charm of property was his. And the viewers knew the contract would be met.

I figured one thing was missing. If one boss could really lick 12 workers like that, then there was something missing from the show. They should have shown the union bureaucrat who tied both their hands and one foot before setting them up for tangling with the boss.

J.G.

From an Oldtimer

Boston, Mass.

As I gaze out my window across Harvard Square I can hear the chains rattle as the good proletariat makes its weary way home to the starving minds and mouths of their doomed brood. Doomed simply because they were born black or white, rich or poor, legitimate or illegitimate.

It is papers like yours that strike a spark in the cold, corrupt capitalist vacuum in which we live. Live? Live only in body. Our minds can be nothing more than a trashy wasteland of this decadent society's indoctrination. It wrenches my heart to think that there are still brave people like you fighting for mankind's right to really live. But I am too old and fear you doomed too. But far better to taste the truth of battle than the nothingness of a hopeless existence. There is a truth and a right on your side. You and I and maybe others know a little of it. Hope to come.

R.R.S.

Dallas Cops Goofed on Gun?

Roseville, Mich.

While no backer of the American police forces, I must make an explanation to "B.G." of Canada who wrote a letter in your Dec. 30 issue about the two different reports on guns in the Oswald case.

The reason there was some doubt as to the murder weapon in the assassination was because of the typical stupidity of the Dallas "police." The weapon was first reported to be a German Mauser, then was said to be an Italian Carcano M-38. The reason for this idiotic error was because both rifles use magazines projecting beneath the stock.

Anyone with two eyes could see, however, the M-91 Argentine Mauser is much longer than the Carcano, the bolts are situated differently, and the markings and proof stampings are in German and Spanish on the M-91, Italian on the M-38.

I hope this settles the argument so we can get on to the more important issues of the day.

A.M.

On the 'Feminine Mystique'

Springfield, Mass.

Both Della Rossa and Betty Friedan (Book Review, *The Feminine Mystique*, *Militant*, Jan. 6) seem to suffer from the same disease that plagues most American women — self-hatred.

My objection to this culture is not that it glorifies one's role as a wife and mother. It doesn't. What is reactionary in glorifying in one's ability to make a home, bear

life and nurture it? Every socialist society respects this aspect of woman as it does her ability to contribute in all other spheres of life.

American women are known for their violent vomiting spells during pregnancy. Biological? No, cultural. This society is both anti-intellectual and anti-sexual and it is not a wonder that it drives women into a frenzy seeking to fulfill themselves.

But it is time for women to reject the adolescent male concept of themselves which they have adopted as a guide in the feminist struggle. It does not make sense that women who have pride and self-respect in their sexual role will shrink from taking part in the world. What does make sense is that this society has nothing to offer in the way of satisfying work.

Very few men are able to find satisfaction in their work and they have a larger arena than that of women.

Whether male or female, one can hardly lead a life of fulfillment in this selfish and empty society. But I think women make a mistake when they sneer at their child-bearing function and believe any dignity can be achieved through an "unsexing" à la Lady MacBeth.

The "anti-feminine mystique" is as bad as the "feminine mystique." We can learn a lesson from the black nationalists (many of whom are women): self-respect and not self-mutilation is the revolutionary answer for an oppressed group.

Phyllis Sawyer

It Was Reported in the Press

Answer to Cancer — The Phillip Morris Corp. has already readied one answer to the government report on cigarettes' danger to health. The company has announced it will give coupons with its Alpine cigarettes. The announcement didn't say if the list of gifts for which the coupons may be redeemed includes coffins.

NAACP Gains from Upsurge — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced that in 1963, for the first time, its membership passed the half-million mark. Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins said that as of Dec. 24 last year, the membership stood at 515,396, a gain of 117,988 members over 1962. He also reported that youth membership reached 55,867, a 50 per cent gain over the previous year.

Time to Quit? — Dr. Linus Pauling, implacable foe of nuclear testing, says smoking is more dangerous than fallout.

Working Both Sides and Middle — A cop was dismissed from the New Rochelle, N.Y., police department on charges of investigating a burglary outside of New Rochelle for a fee without authorization and also for providing information for others to commit robbery.

Forsaking America? — The American Committee for Liberation, a reactionary outfit whose "Radio Liberty" beams cold-war propaganda into the Soviet Union

has changed its name to Radio Liberty Committee. Did someone suggest that Russians aren't interested in being "liberated" by America?

Can't Win for Losing — The U.S. Tax Court ruled that humanist philosopher and civil-libertarian Corliss Lamont must pay income taxes on \$11,000 he claimed as a business loss in 1957. He spent the money publishing books and pamphlets and writing and teaching. The court contended that since his primary purpose in engaging in these activities was not the pursuit of profit, he was not entitled to a deduction on the loss. This raises a question. Supposing that, by some miracle, Lamont made a profit on these educational activities. Would the court declare such profits tax exempt?

Practical Prison Keeper — A hidden underground cell was found at the Bucks County Prison in Doylestown, Pa. Warden John Case said there might be a secret cell under each of the original 51 cells in the prison which dates

back to 1884. He said they might be used as storage space or as fallout shelters.

The Nonvoters — The American Medical Association decided to find out why one-third of the potential voters in this country rarely, if ever, go to the polls. Its conclusion: About half of those who don't vote can't. "A paper curtain in the form of outmoded registration and election laws keep many of our most responsible citizens from voting," says an article in the January issue of *Today's Health*. These include victims of racial discrimination, people who are ill or traveling on vacation or business or who have moved in the weeks or months preceding an election.

They'll Learn Him — Rep. Charles Hoelton (D-N.J.) expressed frustration because his congressional reform bill had been sent to the committee it was designed to reform. The bill is aimed at the well-known burying ground of the House, the Rules Committee headed by Virginia Democrat Howard Smith.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"Eisenhower's 'State of the Union' message to Congress on Jan. 7 brushed over the swift growth of mass unemployment within the past six months. The stark truth is that there are now not less than four million jobless and the total is mounting rapidly.

"Recognition of this basic economic fact must be the starting point for any sound program to ensure jobs and plenty for the American people. Eisenhower's ignoring of this vital fact indicates the worthlessness of his proposed measures to 'stabilize' U.S. capitalism . . .

"The government statisticians fix the total unemployed . . . at only 1,850,000, less than half the actual number out of work . . .

"The CIO has sharply challenged the government's falsified figures on unemployment. CIO Vice President Emil Rieve states the number of those 'willing to work' but without jobs at the time of the last government count was close to 3,250,000. . .

"In the country's two most basic industries — steel and auto — new layoffs and cutbacks were announced almost immediately following Eisenhower's speech in which he described America's 'strong and growing economy.'

"Studebaker, Chrysler, and Hudson announced thousands of layoffs . . . — Jan. 18, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"Last November when the United Steel Workers Union announced that it was opening all contracts with the steel industry to demand a 17 cents per hour increase for 700,000 members, the steel industry sent up a howl of poverty which might well have wrung the heart of a stone. Benjamin Fairless, president of U.S. Steel, acted as spokesman for the industry. He said that the industry, and particularly his own company, was operating on a shoestring of profit, in order to 'maintain wage levels with the cost of living and to further the war effort.' . . .

"Last week the United Steel Workers Union released a few figures on profits in the steel industry. Figures which give the lie to Mr. Fairless and prove that the industry can 'afford' a 17 cent increase for the workers . . .

"During the four-year period from 1940 to 1943 the profits in steel were \$1,206,000,000 of which \$650,000,000 were excess profits, i.e., over and above the average yearly profits for the period between 1936 and 1939.

"U.S. Steel made \$186,000,000 from 1936-1939. During the next four years they almost tripled those profits to \$431,584,000 . . .

"General Sherman once said 'War is hell.' Apparently, he wasn't thinking about the steel kings." — Jan. 22, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"When Mr. K says he needs peace, there is every reason to believe him. So, in our own way, do we need peace? I do not put it in this somewhat hesitant way because I can imagine any conceivable result but disaster from a thermonuclear war. The note of hesitation arises from the fact that there is a powerful faction in this country — perhaps the dominant faction in Congress — that will support almost any military expenditure but is opposed to converting any of the military expenditures that might be saved to any public civilian purpose — as, for example, the advancement of education or an attack on poverty." — From Walter Lippmann's Jan. 2 syndicated column.

SPECIAL \$1 INTRODUCTORY OFFER

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the Freedom Now Movement we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1.

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



Mae Mallory Is Extradited; February Monroe Trial Set

The extradition of Mrs. Mae Mallory, Negro mother of two, from Ohio to North Carolina, brings the framed-up Monroe "kidnap" case into the civil-rights spotlight. Four "kidnap" defendants face trial in the Feb. 17 term of court in Monroe, N.C.

Mrs. Mallory surrendered to Ohio authorities Jan. 9. Next day Common Pleas Judge Roy McMahon refused her attorney's plea for stay of execution thus ending the 26-month battle against extradition.

Mrs. Mallory was secretly taken from the jail and handed over to Monroe, N.C., authorities at the county line. This was to avoid civil-rights demonstrators who picketed the jail despite freezing weather to protest her being handed over to the Southern racists. Leading the picketing was Ruth Turner, 24, executive secretary of Cleveland CORE.

At this crucial moment in the case — in which three young men and Mrs. Mallory face possible life sentences — James Baldwin, the noted writer and civil-rights champion, joined the Committee to aid the Monroe Defendants. He is sending an urgent appeal to all friends of the Negro struggle for support and contributions to the defense efforts of the committee.

Baldwin Appeal

Baldwin calls the case "crucial for the civil-rights movement and for justice in America." It is, he continues, "a 'kidnap' case in which there was no kidnapping."

The charges grew out of an incident in the Ku Klux Klan stronghold of Monroe on Aug. 27, 1961. On that day a mob of 5,000 white supremacists, encouraged by the police, attacked Freedom Riders and members of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee who were picketing the courthouse.

At the height of the excitement a white couple drove through the alarmed Negro community, until halted by the press of people in the street. They took refuge in the home of Robert F. Williams, Monroe NAACP leader, and went



Mae Mallory

their way unharmed two hours later.

Two local Negro youths, Richard Crowder, 19, president of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, Harold Reape, 17, an active member of the same organization, and John Lowry, 20, a white Freedom Rider from New York, were indicted along with Mrs. Mallory on the "kidnaping" charges.

"For almost two-and-a-half years now the prosecution has refused to bring the three young men defendants to trial," James Baldwin points out. "This is not only a denial of their constitutional right to speedy trial but constitutes a refined form of torture. The deliberate prolongation of the case also exhausted the financial resources of this defense committee and served to dim the case in the public consciousness." Now the Monroe authorities have no further possible pretext for delaying the trial.

Contributions and inquiries for further information should be sent to CAMD, GPO Box 1314, New York, N. Y.

Miss. Youth Wounded by Nightriders

McCOMB, Miss., Jan. 10—Armed nightriders yesterday shot into six Negro businesses, fired on two Negro homes, and wounded a young Negro boy.

In Jackson, the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO) asked President Lyndon B. Johnson immediately to "dispatch federal troops to the McComb area to protect Negro constitutional rights." In a telegram to Johnson, Robert Moses, head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's vote drive and program director for COFO, said that "white violence has again erupted in McComb, in a renewed attempt to stifle Negroes in their drive to register and vote."

In Atlanta, SNCC Chairman John Lewis asked Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to "take all steps possible to insure that future acts of violence aimed at intimidating Mississippi Negroes are halted before they begin. If this means federal marshals and federal troops in Mississippi, then you must be prepared to send them there before others are shot."

McArthur Cotton, the SNCC worker who directs voting activity in McComb, said four young white men in a white car fired shots into a Negro cafe, two grocery stores, a shoe repair shop and two Negro homes. Cotton said a young Negro boy in Summit, a suburb of McComb, was wounded in the leg by gunfire. One of the same homes had been fired into the night of Jan. 8.

Cotton said voter-registration workshops had been resumed here in early January. He said more than 50 Negroes had tried to register here since November, 1963. McComb Police Chief George Guy — who has arrested SNCC workers here in the past — said four white students at South West Junior College in Summit were arrested in connection with the Jan. 9 shootings. In commenting on the wounds suffered by the Negro youth, Guy said the shots only "blistered his tail a little bit."

Negro Youth Press Fight To Abolish Atlanta Bias

ATLANTA, Ga., Jan. 12 — High-school and college students here are beginning an all-out drive to make Atlanta an "open city." The drive began two days after the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee announced an end to demonstrations at Dobbs House outlets (Toddle Houses) in Atlanta which have been successfully integrated.

The Dobbs House integration was accomplished with the help of comedian Dick Gregory.

Further demonstrations are aimed at integrating eating places, hotels, and securing more jobs for Negroes. Some of the demonstrations are being led by SNCC Chairman John Lewis and Gloria Richardson, intrepid leader from Cambridge, Md., who came to Atlanta to aid the drive.

Adopt 'Battle Plan'

Several local civil-rights groups met Jan. 6 to adopt a battle plan for integration of Atlanta. A coalition of Negro groups, the Atlanta Summit Conference, has attempted to negotiate some integration, but many in the Negro community are dissatisfied with the slow pace.

Despite Atlanta's label as a "progressive" city, most gains won by Negroes here have come through court action or street demonstrations. In other words, they didn't come through mere negotiation, but had to be forced. The Summit group felt the pressure from the activists, however, and met on Saturday, Jan. 11, in a Negro Leadership Conference to discuss the "battle plan."

Concession Not Enough

The same day, 14 major Atlanta hotels and motels made their first public announcement that they would accept reservations from Negroes. The Negro Leadership Conference declared the hotel announcement was not enough and, after a sharp discussion, adopted the "battle plan."

The more conservative leadership walked out of the meeting in protest. One of those walking out



Dick Gregory

was the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr., father of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. The younger King did not publicly announce his position, but his assistant, in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Wyatt T. Walker, reportedly went along with the "battle plan."

Immediately after the meeting, a number of the rights leaders went to a motel in downtown Atlanta which had refused to join in the desegregation announcement. About a dozen got into the motel's restaurant before the door was locked and were arrested after about an hour of sitting-in. Among those arrested were Walker and SNCC Chairman John Lewis.

CHAPEL HILL, N.C., Jan. 6 — More than 150 anti-segregation demonstrators have been arrested here since protest demonstrations began Dec. 3.

Members of the Chapel Hill Freedom Committee — a coalition of civil-rights groups here — are pressing for a public-accommodations law and equal employment for Negroes. Three demonstrators spent Christmas in jail, after they were sentenced to 30-day jail terms.

While police have generally been careful in their treatment of demonstrators here, several demonstrators have been subjected to rough treatment by restaurant operators. Quenton Baker, state NAACP youth chapter president, was forced to swallow ammonia by the owner of one eating place. At other public places, demonstrators have been mopped with ammonia, according to SNCC field secretary J. V. Henry.

Birmingham Cops Drop Case Against Bombers

Birmingham, Ala., police will not prosecute three men who reportedly admitted exploding a dynamite bomb near a Negro neighborhood in the city last October.

Birmingham Police Lieutenant Maurice House said Jan. 6 that no charges would be pressed against three Alabama National Guardsmen who, police say, confessed to the October bombing. House said the confessions would not stand up in court because of insufficient supporting evidence. The police refused to identify the three guardsmen.

There have been more than 50 unsolved bombings in Negro neighborhoods in Birmingham in recent years. One of these was the bombing of a Negro church there last Sept. 18 which resulted in the death of six Negro children — four from the bomb, and two who were shot in the aftermath.

Demand "Wich Stands" Hire Negroes

Los Angeles Rights Group Opens Fight

By Leslie Evans

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 4 — This city, frequently touted as "the most integrated in America," has had its boast called into question by a civil-rights battle between the Non-Violent Action Committee (N-VAC) and the Wich Stands, a chain of drive-in restaurants.

N-VAC describes itself as "Los Angeles' newest and most active civil-rights group." The two Wich Stands have been in business since 1939. One is in the heart of the Negro community, at Figueroa and Florence, the other is just outside the ghetto, at Overhill and Slauson.

When N-VAC began negotiations at the beginning of December not one of the two stands' 95 employees was a Negro. N-VAC proposed preferential hiring of qualified Negroes as new help was needed, until a level of 15 per cent was reached, with the stipulation that both stands be integrated and that some of the jobs be other than dishwashing and maintenance. The owners refused even to meet with representatives of the civil-rights group.

On Dec. 17 N-VAC began picketing the Wich Stand in the Negro community, with signs reading: "Hire Right, Not All White," "Don't Spend Your Money Where You Can't Work," "Stop Discrimination," and "Don't Cross the

Freedom Line." The picketing has gone on 12 hours a day, seven days a week ever since, from 4 p.m. until early in the morning. The owners admit that business has been cut 75 per cent.

The Wich Stands have gone to every possible length to break the picket line. They hired private detectives to photograph the demonstrators, and special armed police to patrol the parking lot. They secured a restraining order prohibiting picketing from a judge in Inglewood (a lily-white community near the Slauson and Overhill stand.). When N-VAC continued to demonstrate, summonses were issued on the line to 20 of the demonstrators, followed by contempt of court citations a few days later.

A. L. Wirin, the noted ACLU attorney appeared with the defendants Jan. 3 for the initial hearing on the restraining order. The owners made an appeal there for an injunction against the action, and a decision is expected shortly.

The most impressive part of the action is the support it has received from the Negro community. Usually a third or more of the line is made up of people who joined off the streets. Neighborhood people bring food and coffee to the line. Local gas stations hand out N-VAC's leaflets to their customers.

Most amazing is a truce signed by the four largest Negro street gangs, the Slausons, Gladiators, Comptons, and the Watts, for the sole purpose of supporting and protecting the demonstration. Its value was demonstrated when white toughs tried to break up the line.

Gang Hang-Out

The Wich Stand in the white area is a hang-out for white car clubs and teenage gangs. On Monday night, Dec. 30, about 90 white teenagers drove down to the stand in the Negro area, where they began throwing eggs, firecrackers, tin cans and rocks at the pickets and singing obscene parodies of Freedom Songs. Within minutes more than 100 members of the Negro gangs were on hand to defend the line. In consultation with N-VAC leaders, they agreed to abide by the policy of non-violence, but made it clear that they would not permit the whites to injure the pickets.

The police arrived when the egg throwing began, but refused to intervene. Making no attempt to protect the Negro pickets, they drove off and parked a block or so away. Only when it became apparent that the white teenagers were in danger did they move in, forcing the manager to close the restaurant and dispersing the crowd.

They refused to arrest any of the whites involved but arrested three Negro youths for violating the curfew.

On Thursday night the stand closed at 7 P.M., apparently fearing a recurrence of Monday's riot. In leaving, an employee hit a picket with an egg, and another attempted to run a Negro youth down with his car, knocking him off his feet and tearing his clothes. Two motorcycle cops were standing in the restaurant's parking lot within 30 feet of both incidents. But, claiming they had seen nothing, they refused to make any arrest. Finally, at the insistence of the demonstrators, three squad cars were called and complaints were filed against the two men. They were taken down to the police station but later released.

The Wich Stand closed its doors at 6 p.m. Friday, and has not been open since. The demonstrators feel that the owners are waiting in the hope of getting the temporary injunction. But if they get it or not, N-VAC plans to continue the action.

"We may define 'right' (i.e., law) as the might of a community. Yet, it, too, is nothing else than violence . . . it is the communal, not individual, violence that has its way."—Sigmund Freud (1856-1939).